Fulfilment of basic needs is essential for the survival of mankind. Each society works out some mechanism with the help of which activities of its members are coordinated so that they can produce the goods for consumption. In all societies men organise themselves in one way or another to obtain a living. The social organisation and norms which people devise to utilize and manage their resources for the satisfaction of their wants is their 'economy' (Mercer, 1958). The economic institution ensures a flow of goods and services for the fulfilment of the needs of its members. In every economic system, members interact according to well-defined roles for the purposes of production, consumption, exchange and distribution. Members play particular occupational roles depending upon the nature of economy as well as their capabilities. They not only derive mental satisfaction from work, but their status is also dependent upon the type of economic roles they play in a society.

The nature of economy and the structural features of an economic system vary from society to society and changes from one historical period of time to another. However, economic system being closely interwoven with other institutional frameworks, influences and is influenced by the social structure of that particular society. Further, the structural aspect of any economic system includes
property rights, division of labour, and exchange. As Morre (1955) writes 'the institutional control within which any economic system must operate must include those governing the division of labour, the disposition of property rights and the method of distribution.'

Economic system in primitive/tribal community is different from that of rural or village set-up. The former is usually characterized by subsistence economy (Lucy Mair, 1972), dependence on forest, use of primitive technology - such as food gathering, shifting cultivation, and a relatively egalitarian way of life (Singh, 1982), lack of fixed occupation (Chaudhuri, 1988), etc. On the other hand, rural/village communities are usually characterized by settled agriculture with or without improved technology, caste-system, market orientation, etc.

Occupations followed by various primitive communities/tribes in India differ considerably, depending upon their geographical location, technological advancement, etc. Few tribal groups follow hunting and food gathering techniques, e.g., Onge and Jarwar of Andaman Island (K.S.Singh 1982), whereas, few tribes such as Nilgiri (Jyoti Sen, Shah and Mukherjee, 1982) are pastoral. Shifting cultivation is followed by Karbis (Bhattcharjee, 1986), Khasis (Gurdon 1975, Barkatki, 1984), Mikris Mizos (Barkatki, 1984). Similarly, prominent tribal groups following settled agriculture as their primary occupation are Oraon, Munda, Bhil Santhal, Mayhwar, Kha war, Baiga, the Korwa, Gond, Ho and Assam tribes (Madan and
Majumdar, 1989). In such areas, production is usually dependent on resources locally available, with family or group as a whole, as a unit of production. Division of labour beyond sex and age is usually not found, and distribution of goods, to a large extent, is determined by reciprocity.

In the following pages, we will be dealing with economy at Malana. To understand the various economic activities followed by the Malanese, a detailed analysis of their primary and subsidiary occupations will be undertaken. Focus will also be laid on structural aspects such as land ownership, division of labour, exchange pattern etc. An attempt will also be made to understand how economic institution influences and is influenced by other institutional set-ups.

Occupations followed by the people of Malana

Inhabitants of Malana follow different occupations, e.g., agriculture; rearing of livestock such as cattle and sheep, and herb collection. In addition to these the Malanese also undertake a few subsidiary occupations like weaving, beekeeping. An attempt will now be made to find out the nature and structure of their work, as well as division of labour based on age and sex or work specialization.

Land ownership

The people of Malana believe that the land of the territorial boundary of Malana stands in the name of Jamlu devta. Since in
the government records the devta is treated as a minor, the manager, that is, the karmishat is given full charge of managing the devta's land, but he has no right to dispose of the land the way he likes to. The devta is considered as the owner of land for all practical purposes. However, the land was distributed for cultivation among the Malanese depending upon the extent of service (Chakri) they rendered for the devta as well as keeping in view their needs. The distribution was done in such a manner that there was no marked inequality and the community had an egalitarian way of life. The tillers were to treat themselves as tenants of devta and were required to deposit half of the produce with devta's Bhandar (Store). The elderly population of Malana contended that since the land was in the name of devta, and the people of Malana never accepted the control of Kulu ruler over the territorial boundary of Malana, they never paid any revenue to the king of Kulu.

After the introduction of Land Reform Act, 1972, which was amended in 1974, land ownership in Himachal was transferred to the tenants known as Mazara so far as the government records were concerned. At Malana also the ownership of land was transferred in the name of Malanese tenants. However, the inhabitants still consider themselves as the tenants of devta and continue to pay a certain proportion of the produced to devta's Bhandar. So far as the revenue of the Govt. is concerned, it is being realized from the karmishat and he is issued a receipt for the whole land. It is he who subsequently collects revenue from the Malanese, depending
upon the size and fertility of their land holdings.

Out of the total land of Malana, 96 Bighas still stand in the name of devta. Some land (4 Bighas) is allocated to the pujari and the Karmishat for the services they render to the devta.

The distribution of land ownership at Malana indicates that with the exception of 3 Scheduled Caste household and 6 households of Saura Behr, every household owns some land. Out of the 44 households having land upto 5 Bighas, one-half were from each Behr. Out of the 45 households which had land ownership of more than 10 Bighas, we found that the households of Saura Behr had an

Table No. 3.1
Land distribution, household and clan-wise

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of the Clan</th>
<th>S. No.</th>
<th>Land in Bighas</th>
<th>5aura Behr</th>
<th>Dhara Behr</th>
<th>SC</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>No. NG TH YH</td>
<td>TI DH PH BH SH</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. No Land</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2 1 3</td>
<td>- - - -</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Upto 5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5 17</td>
<td>12 1 4 5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>44</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bighas</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. 6 to 10</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8 7 4</td>
<td>3 5 5 13 17</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>62</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. 11 plus</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>18 14</td>
<td>11 - 1 - -</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>45</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>28 27 24</td>
<td>14 17 7 17 23</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>160</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
over representation, that is, out of the 45 such households, 32 belonged to Saura Behr. Thus, we find that the landless as well as the big land owners belong to Saura Behr. The distribution of land ownership also indicates that the Malana community does not depict an egalitarian way of life. In contrast to 33.12 per cent households having no land or ownership upto 5 Bighas, 28.12 per cent had an ownership of more than 11 Bighas (Table No.3.1) Taking into account the relative position of both the Behrs, it can be concluded that Saura Behr is relatively better placed in terms of land ownership in contrast with Dhara Behr.

Despite the transfer of ownership rights to the Malanese, land is neither sold nor mortgaged. However, if due to illness, old age, or some other reason one can not cultivate his or her own land, he/she can give the land to some other Malanese under the batai (Share) system. Land is divided among the male children equally, irrespective of their ordinal position, or being children of first or subsequent wives. The division normally takes place when the children want to establish a new household after marriage. However, at the time of such division, the person concerned takes into account the possibility of having more children from subsequent marriages. In all these cases neither is any record maintained, nor is it transferred in the official records. It is only a verbal commitment and everyone adheres to such commitments. In case there is no male child, the land is transferred to the widow. At the time of the present study, there were 15 head...
households where widows had the ownership of land.

**Agriculture**

Settled agriculture occupies a place of central importance in the economic activity of the people of Malana. The present agriculture pattern at Malana is of subsistence family-farming type. Agricultural activities are confined to a period of six to seven months in a year i.e., from April to September/October. Because of the extremely cold climatic conditions the land remains covered with snow from the middle of October to March.

Cultivable tract of Malana is at a distance of about 2 km. from the residential area of Malana. Fertility of land is not very high. Fields are very small in size and are located on the steep slopes of the mountain. It is not possible for the inhabitants to plough the land with the help of animals. Thus, various agricultural operations such as preparing the fields for sowing, harvesting, etc. are done by hands using traditional implements like kuddal and Daachi. The seeds are sown in the fields and then covered with earth. All these activities are done manually. Sowing of seeds is done in the month of Sept/Oct. and then the fields are covered with snow. It is only in the month of April that agricultural activities restart, i.e., after the snow has melted. People are then engaged in thinning the plants and weeding and putting cow dung as a fertilizer in the fields.
Harvesting, threshing, collection of seeds and other production, and other associated activities are performed with hands and locally made agricultural tools. Chemical fertilizers, improved variety of seeds, pesticides, etc. are not used. Though a few inhabitants are conversant with their use, they are quite reluctant to use them for the fear of wrath of devta, as according to them, the devta does not approve its use. As such cow-dung is used as a manure in the fields. As elsewhere in Himachal, seasonal springs are treated as a source of irrigation. There are so many springs near Malana which are treated as a permanent source of water supply. Water is brought to cultivatable land through small chennels downhill pacing from one terrace to another. However, untimely rainfall, hailstorms, etc. adversely affect the crop.

The important crops grown at Malana are wheat, maize, Sariyara, kathu, Bhaisa and cereals like Rajma and mash. Maximum cultivable area is under wheat, maize and Sariyara, as they are valued more in comparison with kathu, Bhaisa, etc. There is only one crop in a year which they get in the month of August. The harvest month of August is very auspicious in their life and is also associated with a number of festivals.

As far as division of labour regarding various economic activities in agricultural work among males and females is concerned, there is no differentiations based on sex. Most of the
Women at Work at Fields
activities are performed jointly by both the sexes. However, women participate more actively than the men. Due to a shortage of outside labour, the Malanese frequently exchange labour among themselves, this practice is called tarang. In this practice, if a person gets service from other families for a number of days, he is expected to render labour for the same number of days to those families which have rendered such service to him. Further, children too, above the age of ten years, render a helping hand in various activities.

The three families of scheduled caste who neither possess any land, sheep, or other livestock, earn their livelihood by providing services to the members of Malana community. One of these three families is engaged in weaving the traditional dress of the inhabitants, which the inhabitants wear on special occasions such as fairs, festivals, weddings, etc. This family also owns a guest house where the trekkers or foreigners visiting Malana find accomodation. The other two families are blacksmiths, who provide the inhabitants of Malana with various agricultural implements.

**Sheep-rearing**

Sheep rearing has been the traditional occupation of the Malanese. The adolescents of the family are responsible for grazing the sheep. Moreover, they are also trained in how to handle the sheep.
Normally, an adult member of the family, accompanied by a young child, preferably a male child, goes for grazing the sheep in the nearby forest. The sheep flock is also accompanied by trained dogs who watch them and prevent them from going astray.

During winters, due to the non-availability of fodder, they are compelled to move downhill, thus adopting a nomadic way of life. It is a common practice among the Malanese that the eldest son, along with his wife, accompanies the sheep, whereas the rest of the family members stay behind. In the month of November, the Malanese take their sheep flocks to the meadow near Slapper in Bilaspur district and Sket in Mandi district. They have permanent grazing pastures over there. They claim that their ancestors had also been visiting these areas. Those families which possess a small number of sheep request the families which have a large number of sheep to take their sheep also along with their flock, during the winter months. In return for these services, they pay some amount mutually decided between the parties.

It is during this period that they come in contact with the local inhabitants of Kulu district as they follow the route which passes through the mountains Chander Khani and reach Nagar in Kulu district. Their visit in these areas is quite popular by the name of maleryu. The word maleryu in local dialect of Kulu means 'sheep for consumption'. During their visit, the Malanese also sell
their sheep, which attracts the non-vegetarian population in Kulu district. Malanese never sell their sheep to the butchers, but only to the local people. The inhabitants of Kulu district pool together money to purchase one sheep and distribute its meat among themselves. Further, on their way downhill and back to Malana, while passing through villages, they are requested by the farmers to halt with their sheep flocks in their fields, during the night, because their fields can get manure from the waste of the sheep. In return, they are given food, shelter and sometimes foodgrains or money. Some of the families also halt with their Mitter (friend) or 'God brother/sister'.

Table No. 3.2

Distribution of Sheep/goat, household and clan-wise

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S. No.</th>
<th>Number of Sheep/goats</th>
<th>Saura Behr</th>
<th>Dhara Behr</th>
<th>SC Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>NG</td>
<td>TH</td>
<td>YH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Upto 10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>11 - 30</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>31 - 50</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Total | 28 | 27 | 24 | 14 | 17 | 7 | 17 | 23 | 3 | 160 |

Taking into account the distribution of sheep and goats among the Malanese (Table No. 3.2), we notice that with the exception 22 households at Malana, every one possesses sheep. Out
of the 79 households of Saura Behr, 26 households (32.91%) had more than 50 sheep. In contrast with this, out of the total households of Dhara Behr only 12.82% had 50 or more sheep (10 households out of 78). The distribution according to the number of sheep possessed puts the households of Saura Behr in a better position, as was the case with regard to land ownership. Hence, we find that the members of Saura Behr were economically better off in contrast with the members of Dhara Behr.

Sheep has a special significance in the life of the Malanese. Their personal, social, religious, and economic life is linked with sheep in one way or the other. Possession of a large number of sheep boosts the ego of an individual. It is also considered a status symbol because a person who has a large number of sheep occupies a higher position in the eyes of the Malanese. Sheep meat is the most liked item at all the festivities of the family. In their religious life, and for seeking the blessings of Jamlu devta, it is the sheep which is sacrificed. Even for seeking social justice, to get rid of calamities, and for appeasement of Jamlu devta, sheep is sacrificed and its meat is accepted as a Prashad of Jamlu devta. The economy of Malana also revolves around sheep. More sheep means more money. Sheep are used for exchange of goods not produced in Malana or they are sold to get other necessities of life. It is because of the sheep that they migrate to the plains during winters, and this provides
them with opportunity to come into contact with the outside world. Sheep is an asset for gathering wool for personal use, as well as for selling in the market.

Live Stock

Closely associated with agriculture is animal husbandry. It plays a prominent role in the economy of Malana. Most of the households at Malana have their own livestock which include cows and bullocks. Since the live stock is not of improved breed, the productivity and the quality of livestock is quite low.

Cows are owned by almost every family. However, the yield per cow is very low, being about two to three litres per day. It just serves the required need of milk and ghee. The number of bullocks owned is far less in comparison with the cows, because of the difficulties in managing them. Cows and bullocks are helpful in threshing. Further, they also fulfil the need of manure.

The Malanese usually keep their cattle either in Dhaughry (it means a small hut type of shed built in the field), or in the ground floor of the house. During the months of agricultural activities, they keep their cattle in Dhaughry, as it is convenient for them to feed and look after the cattle during the day, when they are occupied with agricultural work. Further, these Dhaughry are also used for storing the fodder and fire wood for winters. However, during winters they usually keep their cattle in the
ground floor of their residence.

For grazing purposes, the cattle are usually taken uphill by children above the age of 10 years. Due to the non-availability of fodder for cattle in winters the Malanese have to keep a sufficient stock of fodder before the start of winters.

**Table No. 3.3**

Distribution of livestock, household and clan-wise

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sr. No.</th>
<th>Number of livestock e.g. cows etc.</th>
<th>Name of the Clan</th>
<th>SC</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Saura Behr</td>
<td>Dhara Behr</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>NG TH TH</td>
<td>DH PH TI BH SH</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>6 7 7</td>
<td>4 - 6 1 1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>1 to 2</td>
<td>7 2 5</td>
<td>9 - 7 8 13</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>3 to 4</td>
<td>5 4 7</td>
<td>2 3 - 3 7</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>5 plus</td>
<td>10 14 5</td>
<td>2 4 1 5 2</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>28 27 24</td>
<td>17 7 14 17 23</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the distribution of livestock according to the Behr to which Malana households belong, we notice that the members of Saura Behr possess more livestock. Out of 43 households at Malana who had 5 or more cattle 67.44 percent were from Saura Behr, and 32.56 percent that is, less than half were from Dhara Behr. In addition to land ownership, we find that the members of Saura Behr had more cattle also. Hence, keeping in view their
Women Preparing Raw material for Handloom
economic assets land, sheep and cattle, we found members of Saura Behr were better placed.

Subsidiary Occupations

Inhabitants of Malana are also engaged in a few subsidiary economic activities.

Those families who own sheep are engaged in getting raw wool from the sheep to sell in the nearby market. They retain some of it for their personal use to weave their woolen garments like pattu, patti and the articles for bedding purposes like Dhoru (woollen blankets). These families weave clothes for their personal use. The weaving activities are performed by both men and women during the long winter months when they are forced to remain inside their houses. The spinning of the yarn from the wool is the activity which is normally performed by old male members. The old men can be found performing this activity throughout the year, so much so, that even when they are walking, they continue with the activity. The actual weaving is done on handloom by both men and women. However, the end product is not for sale but for the use of the family members. Those families who do not have wool get it on barter system from other Malanese families and weave it on their own. There are a few handlooms which are common and people can use them without paying any fee.
A few families of Malana are also engaged in the collection of herbs found at the hill tops near Malana. This activity of herb collection is performed in the months of June, July and August. Various herbs found are Guchi, Dhoop, Karu, Chora, Chori, Shingli-mingly, Patish. Most of the families whose other means of living are not sufficient, such as land, sheep etc. are vigorously engaged in this occupation as it helps them to fetch good price. The amount they earn from herb collection during a period of three months is quite handsome and with this amount they can survive for the whole year. Herb collection is normally performed by young and sturdy persons who can climb the hill top and can bring a huge load of herbs on their back. The following table shows the various rates on which the herbs are sold.

**Table No. 3.4**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dhoop</td>
<td>Rs. 30/- per kg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karu</td>
<td>Rs. 40/- per kg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chora</td>
<td>Rs.13/14 per kg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chori</td>
<td>Rs. 7/8 per kg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shingli-mingly</td>
<td>Rs. 25/- per kg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patish</td>
<td>Rs. 650/- per kg.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Inhabitants of Malana bring the herbs to Jari, for sale. A few families also engage labour to bring a large quantity of herbs from the hills and they get their commission when the herbs are sent to the down market.
A few families are also engaged in bee-keeping. The bees are tamed in cylindrical boxes with a small hole for them to enter.

After a great probing, it was found that the inhabitants of Malana are engaged in the cultivation of charas on waste-land. It helps them to fetch a good price. Availability of charas attracts a large number of foreigners and other drug addicts to Malana as they can easily get the drug in large quantities and at a lower price in contrast with price at urban areas. From April to September, one can see a few foreigners visiting Malana daily who stay with the family of the scheduled caste who has built a beautiful guest house for them. He charges Rs. 40/- per day for boarding and lodging. During our field work we met a good number of foreigners from the USA, Germany and France. On probing we found that these trekkers came to know about Malana when they reached Kulu. The Scheduled Caste family on an average earns about Rs. 100/- per day during these months.

After discussing the various economic activities being followed by Malanese we now shift our analysis to an important structural aspect of the economy, i.e., 'food-grain collection'.

Food-grain collection

People of Malana go to collect rice and wheat in the month of January, in different villages of Kulu district. They consider it
their customary right to collect grains from the villages where the
twelve abodes of Jamlu devta are situated. Malanese regard that
these twelve villages to be under the devta's Hariyan, i.e.,
jurisdiction. Out of the twelve villages under the jurisdiction of
Jamlu devta, the people of Malana realise a minimum of 8 kg. of
paddy from each family of the four villages, viz., Rumsoo, Pulag,
Sharn, and Barchi-ra-gram. From the other villages also they
collect grains as their right, but there is no fixed quantity. The
residents of all these twelve villages give paddy and wheat to the
Malanese when they come for such collection because of their
devotion to Jamlu devta. The practice of gurahi (collection)
followed by Malanese is similar to the traditional practice followed
by the erstwhile rulers. The king's administrative staff used to go
to the villagers under jurisdiction for collecting revenue which was in
the shape of food grains. As stated earlier, the people of Malana
consider that the twelve villages come under the jurisdiction of
Jamlu devta and hence, they have a right to collect grains from
these people as sort of a revenue.

Besides these villages the Malanese also collect grains from
other villages. Though there is no compulsion for these villagers
to give grains to the Malanese when they come for gurahi
(collection), nevertheless, they contribute their mite either due to
a fear of wrath of Jamlu devta or due to their devotion.
The food, thus collected, is taken to Malana and is kept in devta sabhandar (Store) and is used for community feast, or when some festivals are performed, or when the people of Malana suffer from some calamities and there is an acute shortage of food grains.

Credit system

Other significant aspect of their economy is the credit system. There is no, established system of credit or indebtedness at Malana. The inhabitants of Malana help each other on moral grounds at times of need and give credit to each other free of interest. As and when the loanee party is in a position to return the loan, it is returned. No case came to our notice where the loan was not returned. Loans are usually taken for various needs, for house building, etc. It is taken either in the shape of cash or kind. However, if the inhabitants of Malana face the crises like draught, epidemic, etc., this aid is taken from the devta's treasury which is returned very honestly.

Exchange system

Both barter and monetary systems operate at Malana. Inhabitants exchange various items of food stuff among themselves. The exchange value of wheat, maize, and Sariyara is double the value of other commodities. For example, in place of a hundred kilograms of wheat, one gets two hundred kilograms of Kathu. On the other hand, when they deal with the outsiders they use monetary system.
The people of Malana have business dealings with the shopkeepers of Jari. As they are not self-sufficient, they get different commodities like salt, wheat, rice, pulses, cigarettes, etc. from Jari. They buy these things with cash and go on collecting them during the summer months so that they have sufficient supplies during the winter season. They also sell wool, sheep, herbs, etc., and use cash economy to deal with the outsiders. No doubt, women have more than equal participation in work activities they do not interact with outsiders for business dealings. The Malana men enter into business dealings either for buying grains or for selling wool or sheep or herbs. A lack of self-sufficient economy and sheep grazing brings them into contact with the outsiders.

From the foregoing analysis we observe that Malana has both barter and cash economy, and their economy is at the level of subsistence. Taking into account land ownership, possession of sheep, goats and other live stock Malana does not depict an egalitarian economy. There is no division of labour based on specialization, except based on age of sex. Further every one performs different activities. They collect food, herbs, tend cattle, rear sheep and cultivate farms. In other words, their economy has the characteristics of both the tribal, as well as the settled village life. The family is the unit of production and consumption. Religion plays an important role in the economy of Malana which is obvious in the practice of giving a fixed amount of produce for devta's Bhandar and collection of food grains from nearby villages.
as a cess for devta. The Malanese have not made any efforts to improve the production system partly due to an unawareness and a difficulty in transportation and above all, due to a fear of wrath of the devta. As such age old production processes are being followed and their economy remains at a subsistence level.